



Mr Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen : We are gathered here to mourn the death of one of South Africa's leading and great sons. Mr Tambo resolved to devote his entire life to the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people. He braved the wrath of the architects of the system at a time when they were ruthlessly crushing all forms of opposition. Realising that the perpetrators of injustice and inhumanity showed no signs of abandoning the evil creed, the ANC dispatched him abroad to initiate the rallying of international support against apartheid. He acquitted himself well in the execution of this task which was not made easy by the forces of international capitalism and imperialism. The formidable combination of his sterling qualities of leadership, gentleness and intellectual refinement enabled him to rise to the occasion and measure up to the expectations of the millions struggling inside South Africa. His unflinching determination to hasten the demise of white domination led to the emergence of the Anti-Apartheid Movement throughout Western Europe. The numerical strength of this movement ensured that European Governments could no longer turn a blind eye to the evils of apartheid rule. Mr Tambo had succeeded in mobilising international support against exclusive white rule. Diplomatically he successfully isolated white South Africa. He convinced the international community of the need to impose comprehensive, mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. Through his tireless efforts South Africa came to be regarded as a polecat and pariah state - it was even shunned by the capitalist Western democracies. In the home front the politicisation of the

We are gravely concerned at the turn of events in the negotiating forum. it appears the path of negotiations is strewn with landmines for which the RSA Government must accept full responsibility. The future of South Africa cannot be allowed to be held to ransom by Cosag whose constituency and support base is doubtful. The time has come for South Africans to concentrate on the NP Government and force it to expedite the process of change. The onus is on Mr De Klerk to ensure that there are no delaying tactics by selfish groups like Cosag. We are inclined to think that he uses Cosag to prolong the negotiation process.

As a result of the confusion besetting the negotiation process, Transkei has written to the Planning Committee of the Multi-party Negotiations voicing its concerns and suggesting where we have to start. This is what' we have suggested:

"Since all of us are concerned about the constitutional situation in the country, it is obvious that our ultimate objective should be the ushering in of a new democratic order for South Africa. This can only come about through the adoption of a new constitution for South Africa including the TBVC States. Who will consider and adopt this constitution? In our view, as the Transkei Government, this question should be the focal point of attention before anything else is resolved. Issues like "Form of State" cannot be resolved fully without first having addressed the question relating to the identification and nature of the body which is to adopt the constitution.

masses grew by leaps and bounds hence the birth of the Mass Democratic Movement. Mr Tambo ensured that the struggle was waged on all fronts through broad popular participation. Every theatre of operation and lield of human activity became a battle field. The stunning successes and resounding victories of Mr Tambo's multi-pronged strategies threw the NP Government into disarray and the disinvestment cam paign gathered momentum. This com pelled the Nats to rethink and yield to the demands for vast social change.

In 1989 I met Messrs Tambo and Thabo Mbeki in London. The late Mr Tambo had a clear vision of where South Africa was headed for. He did not doubt that the NP had been pushed into a corner and the only way out was to heed the demands for a negotiated political settlement. Mr Tambo's shuttle diplomacy between the capitals of the world and communication with all international forums relegated the RSA Government to a lesser status. The Nats realising that they were using back doors to enter the capitals of the world surrendered and gave in to negotiations. Mr Tambo contributed immensely to the unbanning of all political organisations and the negotiation process. We are where we are today because of his patriotism and selfless devotion to his people, a man reputed for putting national interests above personal considerations.

It is unfortunate that Mr Tambo has died before witnessing the birth of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for which he had struggled so much. Millions of South Africans will continue the struggle until what the late Mr Tambo championed is achieved.

It is the view of the Transkei Gov'ernment, therefore, that, if we are to make progress at the negotiations, we need first to agree on the need for a new constitution for the whole of South Africa and immediately thereafter go on to consider the nature and character of the body which is to draft and adopt that constitution. After agreement has been reached on this basic issue matters pertaining to the transition process, the resolutions of the Negotiating Forum adopted on 1 April 1993, transitional arrangements, joint control of security forces and other armed formations, levelling of the playing field, preparations for elections and the interim constitution can then be dealt with. It is the view of the Transkei Government that, unless an appropriate mechanism for implementing the resolutions of the 1st of April is agreed upon, the negotiations process will get bogged down. There is a very important lesson to be learnt from the debate which took place on the 26th of April - the lesson is that an appropriate way of implementing the resolution of the 1st of April should be agreed upon first.

Once agreement has been reached on the issue of elections and also on the date of such elections, then a clear programme with agreed time-frames should be drafted. This programme will, inter alia, deal with the dissolution of the Tricameral Parliament and self-governing territories and the re-incorporation of the TBVC States. These two issues cannot be separated. All these are apartheid structures and they must therefore be dismantled simultaneously. Amongst a number of reasons behind this suggestion is the lack of trust in the South African Government's total commitment to change and the fact that the

process cannot be said to be irreversible. The recent call by the South African Government for the "urgent re-incorporation" of the TBVC States coupled with -

- a. the rejection of the notion of joint control of security forces;
- b. the return of exiles;
- c. covert operations; and
- d. the lack of protection of the returnees,

leaves one with the impression that we are about to witness the results of a strategy aimed at the luring of exiles from abroad and the imposition of total control over the whole of South Africa including the TBVC States. The aims and objectives of the assumption of total control over the whole of South Africa prior to the adoption of substantive agreements at the negotiating table leaves one with the impression that we are headed for a big deadlock at the negotiations, but that this will only be engineered after the TBVC States have been placed under the control of the South African Government."

The Transkei Government has also written to the Planning Committee about the implementation of the Resolution on Violence. When the issue of violence is handled by a committee at the multilateral level, it is our view that the heads of the security forces in the SATBVC States, self-governing territories and military wings of the liberation movements should also be involved in the consideration of the issue. We therefore recommended that the said heads be brought in as an additional component of the proposed special committee on violence. In this

way hostilities can be sufficiently addressed. There are enough precedents in this regard, for example, General Peter Walls of the Rhodesian forces, Tongogara of ZANLA and the Commanders of ZIPRA forces, and also in the case of Angola, General Geldenhuys, formed part of the teams which brought about an end to hostilities. Political negotiations alone cannot effectively end violence without the participation of the said heads of military formations. The Transkei Government wishes all people who will attend the funeral a safe journey.

We convey our deepest sympathies to the family of the late MR O.R. TAMBO.

May his soul rest in peace.

Thank you.